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TWO STUDIES

IN

# Ballad Theory of the Beowulf

# TWO STUDIES

ON THE

# Ballad Theory of the Beowulf

TOGETHER WITH AN

## INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF OPINION

BY

JAMES EDWARD ROUTH, JR.

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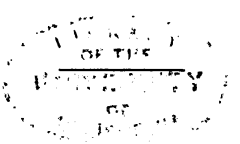
A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



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# PREFACE.

When the disputed question of the ballad theory of the *Beowulf* was suggested to me by Professor Bright as a subject for research, the purpose was formed of giving a review of the whole problem. This, however, like most first intentions, required modification; as a survey of the large amount of extant critical writing upon the subject would swamp in a mass of reviews such material as I have been able to add. Two of the unsolved problems connected with the theory have, therefore, been attacked separately; and the results are embodied in two distinct studies; while their relations to the theory as a whole are sketched in the introduction.

My best thanks are due, for assistance in the work, to Professor Bright, under whom my studies have been prosecuted. After the first study was completed, I was made aware of an unpublished paper, by Professor O. F. Emerson, of Cleveland, Ohio, entitled *The Legends of Cain and His Descendants in Old and Middle English Literature*, a paper which had been read before the Modern Language Association of America.[1] This Professor Emerson has kindly permitted me to read and quote. I desire to extend my thanks for his courtesy. I am also indebted to Dr. C. W. E. Miller and Dr. B. J. Vos for assistance with references in Greek and German.

The numbering of lines is that of the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek*, except in the case of the *Beowulf*, where the numbering of Heyne has been followed. The word, parenthesis, is used in the sense of rhetorical, or episodic, not of syntactic, parenthesis.

[1] See *Pub. Mod. Lang. Association*, XVI, p. xix.

# INTRODUCTION.

(*A.*) From the time when Friedrich Wolf, more than a century ago, dissected Homer, the ballad theory of the epic has divided scholars with an intensity which has almost amounted to acerbity. Lachmann carried the theory over to the German field, whence the infection has spread, until the poets of the *Beowulf*, of the *Roland*, and even those of the New Zealander epics have been, tentatively at least, reduced every one to a mere congeries of redactors, and their poems have, like the "unskilfully made cento" of Homer, been characterized as patch-work.

It is the purpose of the present discussion to express certain doubts as to the validity of this theory in the field of Anglo-Saxon, and to test these doubts in two ways: first, by the adducing of certain facts which indicate that the original conception of the *Beowulf* story, as we have it, was Christian, and that, in consequence, it is superfluous to attribute any part to pagan bards; secondly, by an appeal from individual poems to the corpus of Anglo-Saxon verse as a whole, by which it may perchance be shown that, some, at least, of those features which have led to the supposed detection of earlier ballads are generally prevalent in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and that, in consequence, they are common features or common deficiencies of Anglo-Saxon rhetoric, and not indications of patching. This, as will be noted, has been done in part; but there remains an unrefuted residuum of the dissectionist's argument, which is the delight of the ballad theorist, and a stumbling block to those who believe in the unity of the *Beowulf*.

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(*B.*) As the earliest study of Anglo-Saxon prose was made for the establishment of facts of church history, so the first notes on Anglo-Saxon poetic style came from the pen of an historian, to whom literature was primarily but documentary evidence as to the

intellectual and social conditions of the people with whose career he was concerned. Between 1799 and 1805 appeared the successive parts of Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, in which were the well known chapters on the Poetry, Literature, Arts, and Sciences of the Anglo-Saxons. Such studies were, as the author himself tells us,[1] at the time almost entirely neglected:

"A few scholars in a former century had cultivated the study, and left grammars, dictionaries, and catalogues for our use; but their labors had been little heeded, and no one had added to the information which they had communicated."

Of the four great MSS of Anglo-Saxon poetry only the *Junius* had been published (1655). The *Beowulf* and *Exeter* MSS. were known, but it was not until more than a decade later that Thorkelin produced his text of the former; not until nearly four decades had passed that Thorpe edited the *Exeter Book;* while the *Vercelli Book* was not discovered until 1822. Turner's remarks were, therefore, the first glimmerings of light upon a subject until then wrapped in almost complete obscurity. Despite this fact his comments have, for the most part, never been contradicted. Concerning the hymn of Cædmon he wrote:[2]

"In these eighteen lines the verbal rhythm and periphrasis of the style are evident. Eight lines are occupied by so many phrases to express the Deity. The repetitions are very abruptly introduced; sometimes they come in like so many interjections: . . . . So that of eighteen lines, the periphrasis occupies fourteen, and in so many lines only conveys three ideas; and all that the eighteen lines express is simply the first verse of the book of Genesis, 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.'"

After further comment he continued:

"The origin of the periphrasis is easily accounted for; a favourite chief or hero conquers, and is received on his return by the clamorous rejoicings of his people. One calls him brave; another fierce; another irresistible. He is pleased with the praises;

[1] Preface to third edition.

[2] *History*, Bk. IX, Ch. I, 266 et seq.

and some one at his feast, full of the popular feeling, repeats the various epithets with which he had been greeted:

Edmund
the brave chief
fierce in war!
irresistible in battle!
slaughtered his enemies
at —— ——

This is in substance an Anglo-Saxon poem."

Continuing he pointed out the widespread prevalence of narrative songs among the people and quoted as authority (1) Alfred's remark concerning the efficiency of Aldhelm in singing, and Malmesbury's statement that Aldhelm, to instruct the people, placed himself upon the public bridge, as if a public singer by profession, and there mingled in his songs profane and sacred matter, that he might at once attract attention and instruct his hearers; (2) Bede's reference to the passing around of the harp; (3) Malmesbury's account of Alfred's, and later of Anlaf's, visit to the Danish camp as a harper; (4) Malmesbury's words, after narrating how Athelstan was born of Edward by a shepherd's daughter, "The following facts I have taken rather from the songs (*cantilenis*) worn out by the course of time than from books composed for the instruction of posterity;" (5) his words, after speaking of the adulteries of Edgar, "The other infamies which I shall mention have been rather diffused by songs (*cantilenae*);" (6) Dunstan, in the ancient life, was said to have learned "the vain songs of his nation;" (7) Canute, sailing by the abbey of Ely, composed a four line song which has been preserved; (8) in Ingulf's account of Hereward appears "His brave actions were sung in England;" and again Hereward was buried "after great battles, and a thousand dangers, frequently dared against the king, earls, barons, and magistrates, and bravely achieved, as is yet sung in the streets;" (9) Malmesbury states that the *Roland* was sung by the Norman warriors before the battle of Hastings. In spite of this recognition of the prevalence of popular songs, Turner, in speaking of the *Beowulf*, did not even suggest that it might have

been put together out of such material. It is striking that an investigator of his acuteness should have noticed no discrepancies such as would be unwarrantable in an unified poem.

In 1826 Conybeare[1] echoed Turner's remarks on the hymn of Cædmon. But it was not until 1840 that the question took on the aspect in which it later developed so hotly. It was then that the ballad theory was introduced into the field of Anglo-Saxon by Ettmüller[2] who wrote:

"Ich glaube daher nicht zu viel zu wagen, wenn ich behaupte dass das Beowulflied ursprünglich aus einzelnen Liedern bestund, die mit der Zeit in ein Ganzes vereinigt wurden. Man lese nur die vv. 612, 710, 801, 835, 1412 ff. um sich davon zu überzeugen; auch sonst noch lassen sich Liedanfänge nachweisen, so dass augenscheinlich ist, das unser Beowulflied auf diese Weise entstund und nicht das planmässige Werk eines Dichters ist."

This was the first symptom of the Anglo-Saxon ballad theory. In 1855 Thorpe[3] held that the Christian allusions were from the hand of a redactor. In 1859 Simrock,[4] in his *Beowulf* echoed the view of Ettmüller. But it was in 1869 that Ettmüller's arguments took their most lucid and lasting form, at the hands of their strongest advocate, Müllenhoff.[5] Müllenhoff's most weighty justifications of his dissection of the *Beowulf* may be classed under five heads: contradictions; irrelevances, such as the moralizing aside at the beginning of the poem, "So should a young man do," etc., or the irrelevant Finn episode; needless repetitions; the contrast of passages wholly Christian with others wholly pagan; and gaps in the narrative. Müllenhoff concluded that the poem was made up of two original lays, additions by one or two later poets, and further additions by two still later poets, who, in succession, added to the work which had preceded their own and interpolated it. The later of these interpolators he held responsible for the ecclesiastical passages.

[1] *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 6.
[2] *Beowulf*, Preface, p. 63.
[3] *Beowulf*, p. ix.
[4] *Beowulf*, p. 194.
[5] "Die Innere Geschichte des Beovulfs." Zeit. f. d. Alt. XIV. Reprinted in *Beovulf Untersuchungen*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1889.

A year after, but as the result of an entirely independent investigation, Köhler[1] concluded that the *Beowulf* was of multiple authorship; but, in noting, in conclusion, that he had seen Müllenhoff's article, he added a suggestion which, had it been followed, would have made much that was to be said later useless:

"Die kriterien für diese untersuchung boten mir die vergleichung anderer angelsächsischer dichtungen, volksmässiger wie geistlicher, sowie die gesichtspunkte, welche ich bei der beschäftigung mit der volksmässigen dichtung anderer, germanischer und nichtgermanischer, völker gewonnen habe."

Unfortunately the suggestion was not followed, and the matter continued to be bandied about as inconclusively as before. In 1871 Sweet, in a short treatise on Anglo-Saxon poetry which prefaced the second volume of the new edition[2] of Warton's *History of English Poetry*, wrote:

"Every genuine national epos presupposes a stage of literature, in which these short historical songs were the only narrative poems existing; for the germanic epic, which is regarded by those for whom it is composed as history, and nothing else, is never invented, but has to draw on the common national stock of historical and mythological tradition. How far the original substructure of separate songs is still visible in the finished epos, depends entirely on the genius of the manipulator, and his command of his materials. If he is destitute of invention and combination, he will leave the separate poems unaltered, except, perhaps, in cases of repetition and very obvious contradiction, and merely cement them together by a few lines of his own. Many of the Eddaic poems are in this stage: they are patchwork, evidently executed long after the true epic spirit had died. Very often the connecting and complementary passages are written in prose, so that the genius of a Lachmann is hardly needed to cut out the interpolation. But if the traditions contained in these songs are handled by a poet, that is to say, a man of invention, combination, and judgment, they are liable to undergo considerable modifications. There will be room for original work in connecting the

[1] "Die Einleitung des Beovulfliedes. Ein Beitrag zur Frage über die Liedertheorie." *Zeit. f. d. Phil.* II, 320.

[2] Edition of 1871.

various incidents and introducing episodes, in removing incongruities and repetitions, and in fusing together two or more different renderings of the same tradition. In short, the use of traditional material does not in the slightest degree preclude originality. This has often been overlooked by critics who have endeavored to analyze such poems as the *Iliad* or *Nibelungenlied* into their original songs; the result in the case of the *Nibelungenlied* is that the dissector, after employing an elaborate apparatus of brackets, parentheses, and italics, is obliged to confess that the excised passages not only mar by their absence the symmetry of the whole, but are often superior to those which are allowed to remain."

These opinions of Sweet, expressed in passing, had only a negligible influence upon the development of the argument. In the same year, however, came more detailed support of the ballad theory from the pen of Rieger.[1] Two years later there was a reaction, when Bugge[2] advocated moderation in the finding of interpolators. The pendulum had now reached its extremes. With Heinzel, whose memorable treatise, *Über den Stil der Altgermanischen Poesie*,[3] appeared in 1875, it came once more approximately into that position of equilibrium in which Köhler had tried in vain to keep it. Müllenhoff had, in analyzing the structure of the *Beowulf*, turned to the discrepancies and other possible indications of a multiple authorship. Heinzel, who had probably seen Köhler's shrewd suggestion and taken the implied advice, turned his attention first to the establishment of certain rhetorical features common to all germanic poetry. Eccentricities of form which lie beyond these he left unexplained.

In 1877 Dederich[4] held to interpolation and multiple authorship. In 1882 Hoffmann[5] discussed comparatively the styles of the *Beowulf* and the *Edda*, but without reference to those features with which the ballad theory and the theories of interpolation are

[1] "Zum Beowulf." *Zeit. f. d. Phil.* III, 381.

[2] "Zum Beowulf." *Zeit. f. d. Phil.* IV, 192. Repeated from *Tidskrift for Philologi og Paedagogik*, VIII.

[3] *Quellen und Forschungen*, X.

[4] *Historische und Geographische Studien zum Angelsächsischen Beowulfliede.* Köln: Römke, 1877, p. 6 et seq.

[5] "Der Bildliche Ausdruck im *Beowulf* und in der *Edda*." *Eng. Stud.* VI, 163.

especially concerned. In 1883 Rönning[1] studied the contradictions of the *Beowulf* and reduced the number of those significant enough for serious consideration to three. Then he appealed to analogues in literature outside of the Anglo-Saxon field. But the same year brought forth a critic for the other side, Möller,[2] who, until his judgment was hopelessly warped by his *strophentheorie*, went even farther in the dissection of the poem than Müllenhoff. In the following year appeared a review of Rönning by Heinzel,[3] who held to a certain amount of interpolation but opposed very strongly the extremists among the dissectors. Also in that year appeared Hornburg's[4] argument, by which it is concluded that the style of the *Beowulf* is uniform throughout and that the poem is, except for some interpolations, an unit in construction, not an assemblage of lays. In 1886 Skeat[5] quoted, with agreement, a remark of Sweet to the effect that the account of Grendel's descent from Cain is "a palpable interpolation." In 1887 Schneider[6] attacked the problem, but rather ineffectually. In 1888, however, appeared ten Brink's *Beowulf*[7] in which the views of Müllenhoff were carried to their greatest extreme. As ten Brink's arguments are, for the most part, identical in kind with those of Müllenhoff and must, therefore, stand or fall with them, we are justified, despite the influence which they have had, in touching them but lightly in the following discussion. Also in 1888 was published Sarrazin's *Beowulf Studien*,[8] in which was expressed a general belief in interpolation. To discuss Sarrazin's main contention, that Cynewulf, or a poet of the Cynewulfian school, redacted the *Beowulf*, would require an independent research, since his arguments are distinct from those of the other dissectors. It is sufficient here to note that his conclusions have not been generally accepted. In

[1] *Beovulfs-Kvadet.* Copenhagen: Gad, 1883. Review by Heinzel; *Anz. f. d. Alt.* x, 233.

[2] *Das Altenglische Volksepos.* Kiel: Lipsius and Tischer, 1883, p. 116.

[3] l. c.

[4] "Die Komposition des Beowulf." *Archiv.* LXXII, 333.

[5] "The Monster Grendel in Beowulf." *Jour. of Phil.* XV, 120.

[6] "Der Kampf mit Grendels Mütter." *Programm des Friedrichs-Realgymnasiums zu Berlin*, 1887.

[7] *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXII. [8] Berlin: Mayer and Müller, 1888.

1889 Heinzel[1] reviewed ten Brink's work and, in opposing his views, made the first aggressive appeal, after the appearance of Rönning's work, from the *Beowulf* to parallel features of other poetry, Anglo-Saxon, Old French, and Old High German. In his article on Old Germanic style Heinzel had confined himself to a determination of its principal features. In this review he more specifically opposed the extreme elaboration of the ballad theory. In 1891 Schröer[2] gave qualified support to the dissectors. But in the same year Jellinek and Kraus,[3] in a joint article, took up once more the arguments already urged by Bugge and Rönning against exaggerating the significance of apparent contradictions. In 1892 Sonnefeld[4] also reverted to old arguments, notably Hornburg's, and pointed out that parallels of construction exist between those parts of the *Beowulf* which are supposed to be by different hands. Nevertheless he did not think the poem the work of a single poet. In the same year Cosijn[5] came out in opposition to theories of interpolation in general. In 1896 Sarrazin published his *Neue Beowulf Studien*,[6] in which he still held to a Christian redactor. In 1897 Blackburn[7] held that the *Beowulf*, as a whole, but without the Christian passages, existed when Christian hands first touched it, but that two of the Christian passages are interpolated and that the rest are due to such slight changes as a copyist might make.

Here the problem rested until the appearance in 1904 of a dissertation, by Bruno Haeuschkel, entitled *Die Technik der Erzählung im Beowulfliede*.[8] This reverts to old arguments, though it systematizes many of them in a logical manner which is pleasant, but somewhat unfamiliar, to one who has been following the course of the controversy. The new arguments of Haeuschkel are to the effect that gaps in the narrative, verbal repetitions, and a number

[1] *Anz. f. d. Alt.* XV, 153. [For further details of this review, see *infra*, Introduction, Part C.]

[2] "Zur Texterklärung des Beowulf." *Anglia*, XIII, 333.

[3] "Die Widersprüche im Beowulf." *Zeit. f. d. Alt.*, XXXV, 265.

[4] *Stilistisches und Wortschatz im Beowulf.* Würzburg Diss.

[5] *Aanteekeningen op den Béowulf.* Leiden: Brill, 1892. Reviewed by H. Lübke in *Anz. f. d. Alt.*, XIX, 341.

[6] *Eng. Stud.* XXIII, 221.

[7] *Pub. Mod. Lang. Association*, XII, 205.

[8] Breslau Diss.

of other features exist not only at the junctions of the supposedly patched sections, but also in parts which even the believers in dissection admit to be unified. From this he concludes that the style of the *Beowulf* is uniform throughout, hence that it is from a single hand. The most fundamental arguments of Müllenhoff, however, he touches only lightly, and then only through references to Heinzel, Hornburg, and Rönning.

Finally the problem has been touched upon by Mr. Emerson in the unpublished paper before mentioned. His evidence is external. Besides the writers noticed, there are several who have dissected other Anglo-Saxon poems or defended their unity.

In concluding this sketch we may note the following facts. If Sarrazin's studies be set aside from the present discussion, Müllenhoff's work embodies such arguments of the dissectors as have any considerable pretense to solidity. His dissections rest fundamentally upon five features: repetitions, contradictions, the contrast of passages wholly Christian with others wholly pagan, irrelevant parentheses and episodes, and gaps in the narrative.

The contrast of Christian with pagan sentiments has been touched upon by several critics who have brought in external evidence. Their work will be noticed more in detail in the first of the following studies, in which is adduced some hitherto untouched external evidence. Discussions of the next two features in a comparative way, as suggested by Köhler, have been undertaken by four writers. Of them Hoffmann and Sarrazin need not concern us at present. The first dealt with such parallels of aesthetic treatment as can be shown to exist between the *Beowulf* and the *Edda*; the second, with textual, phrasal, or clausal parallels only. Heinzel and Rönning, therefore, stand alone in the comparative study of the repetitions and contradictions of the *Beowulf*. Their work is noticed more in detail in Part C of this Introduction. The fourth feature, the existence of irrelevant parentheses and episodes, has not been discussed at all from external or comparative evidence. This is done, after the method of Heinzel, in my second study. The fifth feature, gaps in the narrative, brings up a problem of a different sort. Where these gaps have been taken to indicate interpolation the treatment of them falls in with that of irrelevant parentheses

and episodes in Study II. Elsewhere it involves the analogy of the Homeric *rhapsodes*, as well as the analogues in other Anglo-Saxon poems; for this reason it has been thought best to leave such investigations for separate and independent study, as has been done with the problems presented in Sarrazin's writings. I believe, however, that these gaps afford no convincing evidence against the unity of the poem.

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(*C.*) Heinzel's work is a protest against the extravagance of the ballad theorists rather than a refutation of them *in toto*. In the treatise, *Über den Stil der Altgermanischen Poesie*, he shows that repetition is common in Germanic poetry and in Sanskrit. The various forms of repetition are noted in a manner which proves the feature a stylistic one and removes it from the sphere of future discussions of interpolation. In the review of ten Brink's theory he repeats the most important of these arguments and extends them to Old French. Then he takes up, following the arguments of Rönning, the contradictions of the *Beowulf*. This second part of the study—for the paper is a review only in name—is less satisfactory than the first. That the contradiction of some of the passages in question is dependent upon uncertain interpretations, and that that of most of the others is but slight has been pointed out by Hornburg, by Rönning, and by Jellinek and Kraus; Rönning has appealed from the *Beowulf* to other literature for parallel contradictions. Heinzel adds to these parallels. The general conclusion may be stated in his words:

"Aber auch in der seele eines dichters können sich widerstreitende vorstellungen ablösen oder sogar zu gleicher zeit vorkommen. Nicht nur kann der dichter vergessen, was er vor längerer zeit sich vorgestellt und uns erzählt hat, es können seine vorstellungen über einen bestimmten punct, eine episode seiner erzählung, von haus aus nicht klar und bestimmt gewesen sein."

A little further on he notes another source of contradiction:

"Oft aber lassen sich äussere umstände erkennen, welche in der natur unvereinbare vorstellungen in dem kopfe eines dichters vereinigt haben."

Still further on he continues:

"Wie die pluralität der quellen würkliche widersprüche erklären kann, so natürlich auch kleinere inconcinnitäten, neueinführungen bekannter, überhaupt behandlung des bekannten als etwas unbekanntes, ebenso des unbekannten als etwas bekanntes, widerholungen, dittologien, ein plus oder minus in der erzählung des dichters und im bericht der boten, im auftrag und im bericht, rasche übergänge, mischungen der motive, fallen gelassene motive, frage ohne antwort udgl. aber vieles der art ist auch anderen ursprungs."

The citations, however, both of Rönning and of Heinzel, are drawn to a surprisingly small extent from Anglo-Saxon literature. There might well have been cited in addition an inconsistency noted by Thorpe:[1] In the *Genesis* Sarah is an hundred years old and *blondenfeax*,[2] which may, not improbably, mean white-haired. Because of her age Abram despairs of a son. Yet, a little after, she is a frisky young creature beloved of Abimelech and *aelfscieno*.[3] The incident of Abimelech appears in the original in the same chronologic position, but Sarah is not described as having been then fair. In the *Juliana* the fiend, in sketching his life, mentions as his own deeds things usually attributed to Satan.[4] Yet afterwards he is a son of the king of Hell, who will punish him if he return with his mission unfulfilled.[5] The fact that this contradiction was taken over from a Latin original does not materially affect the argument.

It is probable that to these examples of loose construction, taken over from the Latin, might be added many more drawn from sources purely Anglo-Saxon. The work, however, would be only supplementary to the convincing, if sketchy, discussions of Rönning and Heinzel; so that we may pass on to the two divisions of the subject which remain for discussion, the contrast of Christian with pagan passages, and irrelevant episodes and parentheses. The discussion of the first turns upon the question of sources. That of the second follows the method of Heinzel.

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[1] *Cædmon*, p. 141, Note. [2] l. 2341. [3] l. 2730.
[4] ll. 289-315[a]. [5] ll. 321, 436, 522, 545.

# STUDY I.

## The Origin of the Grendel Legend in its Relation to the Authorship of the Beowulf.

An apparent inconsistency, which strikes us at the beginning of the *Beowulf*, and which, therefore, forms, in a way, an introduction to the whole subject of the composition of the poem, is the contrast of Christian with pagan passages. As Mr. Garnett[1] says:

"The author of the introduction tells us that the Danes 'knew not the good Lord,'[2] but soon after Hroðgar speaks of the power of God,[3] and later thanks God for the victory of Beowulf. This doubtless has led Ettmüller to his view in respect to the composition of the poem."

Only a little less striking than this is the association of the supposedly pagan monster, Grendel, with Cain and the wrath of God. These references to Cain have never been satisfactorily explained. The passages containing them are as follows:

[4] Wæs se grimma gæst Grendel haten,
mære mearc-stapa, se þe moras heold,
fen ond fæsten; fifel-cynnes eard
won-sælig wer weardode hwile,
siððan him scyppend forscrifen hæfde.
In Caines cynne þone cwealm gewræc
ece drihten, þæs þe he Abel slog:
ne gefeah he þære fæhðe, ac he hine feor forwræc,
metod for þy mane man-cynne fram.
þanon untydras ealle onwocon,
eotenas ond ylfe ond orcneas
swylce gigantas, þa wið gode wunnon
lange þrage; he him þæs lean forgeald.

[5] Grendles modor,

[1] *Beowulf.* Boston: Ginn & Co., Edition of 1893, p. xxiii.
[2] l. 181.
[3] l. 478.
[4] ll. 102-114.
[5] ll. 1259ᵇ-1267.

ides aglæc-wif. yrmðe gemunde,
se þe wæter-egesan wunian scolde,
cealde streamas, siððan Cain wearð
to ecg-banan angan breðer,
fæderen-mæge; he þa fag gewat,
morðre gemearcod man-dream fleon,
westen warode. þanon woc fela
geosceaft-gasta; wæs þeera Grendel sum.

For the elucidating of these passages Grimm, in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, called attention to some legends of monsters descended from Cain. Concerning them Bouterwek[1] wrote:

"Zu dieser Schilderung der Unholde haben, bunt durch einander, die Bibel, jüdische Apocryphen und das Heidenthum die Farben leihen müssen. Menschenfressende Riesen kennt das germanische Heidenthum nicht, dagegen spielen sie in einer für die Dämonenlehre sehr wichtigen, nur noch in äthiopischer Sprache vorhandenen neutestamentlichen apokryphischen Schrift, dem Buche Enochs,[2] das etwa zweihundert Jahre vor Christi Geburt verfasst sein mag, eine sehr bedeutende Rolle. Aus diesem Buche Enochs, so wie aus den rabbinischen Überlieferungen, sind manche abenteuerliche Erzählungen, zum Theil durch Vermittlung der Kirchenväter Clemens, Origenes, Augustin, Zosimus und Andrer, in die germanische Kirche des Mittelalters übergeführt und von den gelehrten Mönchen, denen wir allein die Erhaltung der sonst ausgerotteten Volkspoesien verdanken, in diese, wie ein christianisirendes Element, hineingetragen worden. Nach der Rabbinen Lehre ist Kain nicht ein Sohn Adams, sondern des Mörders von Anfang an, Sammaels, des Obersten der Teufel. Die Teufelsmutter heiszt Naema. Nachdem der Brudermörder Kain gestorben war, seien aus seinem Geiste zwei böse Geister geboren worden, nämlich Thubal-Cain und dessen Schwester Naema;[3] von ihnen stammen alle bösen Geister. Germanisch heidnisch aber ist es, wenn die von Kain stammenden Dämonen Elbe, Thurse, Ogres und Riesen überhaupt genannt werden. Hineintragen aus fremder Sage scheint auch der Name Grendel zu verrathen, der möglicherweise einem orientalischen nachgebildet ist."

[1] "Das Beowulflied," *Germania*, I, 401.

[2] The Book of Enoch has been translated into English by Archbishop Laurence. (First ed., Oxford: 1821. Latest ed., London: Kegan, Paul & Co., 1883.) Also by G. H. Schodde. (Andover, Mass.: 1882.)

[3] *Gen.* 4, 22.

Bugge,[1] who followed Whitley Stokes, thought that the Cain story was to be compared with an Irish parallel. That the connection of Cain with wicked and uncouth beings was well established in England in the middle ages is pointed out by Skeat in his notes to *Piers Plowman*.[2] An additional example from Middle English and one from French are given by Professor Kittredge;[3] while Professor Emerson traces the connection from its beginnings through Anglo-Saxon, through Old Saxon, and through Middle High German, as well as through Middle English. One of the late examples, cited by Skeat, will serve to illustrate this class of legends: in the *Romance of Alexander*[4] the poet, after mentioning the assemblage of kings, says

> He was of Kaymes kunrede;
> His men no kouthe speke, no grede,
> Bote al, so houndes, grenne, and berke,
> So us tellith this clerkis.

But all these arguments point to Christian tradition; so that, if the *Beowulf* be pagan, this descent of the monsters, including Grendel, from Cain is inexplicable, except as an interpolation. This is the view of Müllenhoff and of his followers. Against this Professor Emerson has brought arguments which show that the whole of the first two adventures of the poem are fundamentally of Christian authorship. In order not to anticipate Professor Emerson's results, I shall confine myself to noting that he does not go beyond Christian tradition except when he notes, in a general way, that the giants of Greek myth were sometimes confused with those descended from Cain.

On this point, however, Mr. Hagen,[5] in one of his recent articles, has been more specific. He attempts to show that many of the figures of the poem are of classic origin and devotes a chapter to the identification of Grendel with the Hydra. As it is of a piece with the more elaborate argument of the whole

[1] "Studien über das Beowulfepos." *Beiträge*, XII, 82.
[2] *E. E. T. S.* 67, p. 225. [3] *Beiträge*, XIII, 210.
[4] Weber, *Metrical Romances*, Edinburgh: 1810, Vol. I, p. 84.
[5] "Classical Names and Stories in the *Beowulf*." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIX, 72.

paper, I shall simply refer the reader to it. At the end, however, he says

"The connection of Grendel with Cain is also, I believe, in part due to the similarity between the banishment of Echidna (hydra) from the sight of the gods and the banishment of Cain from the sight of God. In *Beowulf*[1] all the monsters, the *eotenas*, the elves, the *orcneas*, and the giants (*gigantas*), who fought against God (the gods), are derived from the race of Cain. Here Cain seems to have usurped the place which properly belongs to Grendel's mother, for in the above passage from Hesiod"—quoted—"and also elsewhere Echidna is represented to be the mother of several of the monsters of classical mythology."

It is evident from Professor Emerson's researches that Mr. Hagen is here astray; for the descent of Grendel from Cain could have been derived only from the Jewish or Christian traditions. If, however, we reject this speculation concerning the appearance of Cain, but accept the rest of Mr. Hagen's argument, we have the conclusion that Grendel was, at one and the same time, a germanized form of one of the Christian monsters and a germanized form of the Hydra.

But, if Grendel be descended from Cain, and is yet the Hydra, then ought there to be some tradition connecting the Hydra with Cain. A trace of such appears in early sixteenth century French, in a poem which could not have been influenced by the *Beowulf*, in the *Enfer* of Clément Marot. Marot likens his persecutors who have imprisoned him to beasts of hell, and continues

> [2] Ainsi est il de ces bestes noysives :
> Ceste nature ilz tiennent de la race
> Du grand Hydra, qui au profond de Thrace,
> Où il n'y a que guerres et contends,
> Les engendra dès l'aage et le temps
> Du faulx Cayn.

The source of this poem is not known. Dante, whose influence upon Marot was great, mentions the Hydra,[3] and also refers in passing to a legend of Cain,[4] but the two are in no wise associated

[1] l. 111 ff.
[2] l. 181. Ed. Jannet.—Paris: Lemerre, 1873, Vol. I, p. 54.
[3] *Hell*, IX, 40. [4] *Hell*, XX, 126; *Paradise*, II, 51.

and the tales of Cain are of an entirely different class and connected with the tales of the man in the moon. The hydras are, in the *Inferno*, serpents which wind about the furies. A possible source of the poet's conjunction of the Hydra with Cain may perhaps be found in the fact that, while the descendants of Cain were, in Jewish and Christian tradition, hell-monsters, the Hydra was, in the *Aeneid*,[1] a monster of Hades.

Another trace of a connection between Cain and the Hydra appears, in the seventeenth century, in a work of the naturalist, Aldrovandus.[2] This work is ostensibly a natural history, but really an encyclopaedia of animal lore as well. In it is a section devoted to a veracious account of the anatomy, habits, and traditions of hydras. Of this a subdivision is headed HIEROGLYPHICA, and reads:

"Nonnvlli, referente Pierio Valeriano, per simulacrum Hydrae, Inuidiam hieroglyphicè repraesentari possetiadunt: quandoquidem Hydram animal palustre, et ex fordido caeno natum fuisse asseuerant. Inuidia quoq; nonnisi in abiecto, et demisso animo residet. Quocirca Ovidius, in volumine Transformationum, hanc in unis conuallibus latibulari confinxit; deinde reliqua, quae de Inuidia scripsit, ad Hydrae significatum pertinere videntur. Praeterquam quod Erictonius pedibus anguineis (quamuis alij ad custodiam, serpentem ei assignatum fuisse dixerint) Inuidiam denotare perhibetur: cum illa, post res praeclarè gestas, in arenam prodiens, paularim in cordium penetralibus occultetur, virulento spiritu ad custodiam destinato. Huius autem exemplum in primis fratribus manifestum habemus,

*Maior et inuidia est fraternis cordibus orta,*
*Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri.*
*Hoc Abel, atq. Chaim:*[3] *hoc Atreus, atq; Thyestes*
*Etheocles cum fratre suo; pluresq; docebunt.*
*Inuidiam idcirco fugiat sapiensq́, bonusq;*

Itaq; hoc est illud odium, quod Diodorus, pictura serpentis denotari posse diuulgauit. Insuper Pierius Valerianus, simulacro

[1] Bk. VI, l. 287.

[2] *Historiae Serpentum et Draconum.* Bononiae: apud Clementem Ferronium, 1640. Libri duo, p. 386 et seq. This treatise is a part of the larger Natural History.

[3] Chaim was a customary spelling for Cain, probably through confusion with Cham or Ham.

Hydrae ab Hercule superatae, hieroglyphicè demonstrari posse vitium à virtute domitum pronunciauit. Etenim talis pictura admonet vnum quemq; virtutis, qua homo fretus illecebras amatorias per Hydram expressas remouere conatur."

Nowhere else, apparently, is there an immediate association of the Hydra with Cain. In patristic Latin writings, however, we have a sort of bond between the two legended figures. Within the first two centuries after Christ arose the heretical sect of Cainites. Concerning them Ducange[1] says:

"Caiani, Caïnitae, Homines inter Gnosticos perditissimi, qui perditissimos quosque vita functos summo cultu venerabantur, ut Caïnum, a quo nuncupati, Core, Dathan, Abiron, Sodomitas et maxime Judam proditorem. Innumeros fingebant Angelos conspicuos flagitiis, ut haberent quos imitarentur. De his consulendi Tertull.,[2] Hieron.,[3] Epiph.,[4] Augustin.,[5] et Baron."[6]

To these authorities Schaff[7] adds Hippolytus[8] and Clemens of Alexandria.[9] Of them all the earliest are Clemens of Alexandria (3d century), Tertullian (d. between 220 and 240), and Hippolytus (d. c. 240). Concerning the Cainites Tertullian[10] says:

"Joannes vero, in Apocalypsi *idolothyta edentes et stupra committentes* jubet castigare: sunt et nunc alii Nicolaitae, Caiana haeresis dicitur. At in epistola eos maxime antichristos vocat, qui Christum negarent in carne venisse, et qui non putarent Jesum esse Filium Dei: illud Marcion, hoc Hebrion vindicavit."

And again:[11]

"Necnon etiam erupit alia quoque haeresis, quae dicitur Cainaeorum. Et ipsi enim magnificant Cain, quasi ex quadam potenti virtute conceptum, quae operata sit in ipso. Nam Abel ex inferiore virtute conceptum, procreatum, et ideo inferiorem repertum. Hi qui hoc adserunt, etiam Judam proditorem defendunt, admira-

[1] *Glossarium.* [2] *de Praescript.*, Cap. 33 et 47.
[3] Lib. I, Cap. 33. [4] *Haer.*, 276. [5] *De Haer.*, Cap. 18.
[6] Ad annum 145. Lucae: Typis Leonardi Venturini, 1738.
[7] *History of the Christian Church.* Vol. II, *Ante-Nicene Christianity.* Second ed., p. 490.
[8] VIII, 20. [9] *Strom.*, VII, 17.
[10] *Liber de Praescriptionibus*, Cap. XXXIII. *Migne, Pat. Lat.* II, 55.
[11] Idem. Cap. XLVII, 80.

bilem illum et magnum esse memorantes propter utilitates, quas humano generi contulisse jactatur. Quidam enim ipsorum gratiarum actionem Judae propter hanc causam reddendam putant. Animadvertens enim, inquiunt, Judas, quod Christus vellet veritatem subvertere, tradidit illum, ne subverti veritas posset. Et alii sic contra disputant et dicunt: Quia potestates hujus mundi nolebant pati Christum, ne humano generi per mortem ipsius salus pararetur, saluti consulens generis humani, tradidit Christum, ut salus, quae impediebatur per virtutes, quae obsistebant ne pateretur Christus, impediri omnino non posset, et ideo per passionem Christi non posset salus humani generis retardari."

For a sketch of the Cainites based upon the authority of Clemens of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius, we may quote Schaff:[1]

"The Cainites boasted of the descent from Cain the fratricide, and made him their leader. They regarded the God of the Jews and Creator of the world as a positively evil being, whom to resist is virtue. Hence they turned the history of salvation upside down, and honoured all the infamous characters of the Old and New Testaments from Cain to Judas as spiritual men and martyrs to truth. Judas Iscariot alone among the apostles had the secret of true knowledge, and betrayed the psychic Messiah with good intent to destroy the empire of the evil God of the Jews. Origen speaks of a branch of the Ophites, who were as great enemies of Jesus as the heathen Celsus, and who admitted none into their society who had not first cursed his name. But the majority seem to have acknowledged the goodness of Jesus and the benefit of his crucifixion brought about by the far-sighted wisdom of Judas. A book entitled 'the Gospel of Judas' was circulated among them.

"No wonder that such blasphemous travesty of the Bible history, and such predilection for the serpent and his seed was connected with the most unbridled antinomianism, which changed vice into virtue. They thought it a necessary part of 'perfect knowledge' to have a complete experience of all sins, including even unnameable vices."

The Cainites were a sect of the larger Gnostic sect of Ophites. Concerning the Ophites Schaff continues:

"Some have identified the Ophites with the false teachers denounced in the Epistle of Jude as filthy dreamers, who 'defile the flesh, and set at naught dominion, and rail at dignities,' who

[1] l. c.

'went in the way of Cain, and ran riotously in the error of Balaam for hire, and perished in the gainsaying of Korah,' as 'wandering stars, for whom the blackness of darkness has been reserved forever.' The resemblance is certainly very striking, and those heretics may have been the forerunners of the Ophites of the second century."

That Judas, as well as Cain, figured in the middle ages as the relative of wicked men has been pointed out by Skeat.[1] The probability is therefore strong that the legends of the middle ages to which reference has been made were originally associated in some way with the doctrines of the Cainites. Now one of the chief features of the Ophite worship was a serpent taken from eastern mythology. Concerning this Milman says:[2]

"The Ophites are, perhaps, the most perplexing of all these sects"—of the Gnostics.—"It is difficult to ascertain whether the Serpent from which they took or received their name was a good or an evil spirit—the Agatho-dæmon of the Egyptian mythology, or the Serpent of the Jewish and other Oriental schemes. With them, a quaternion seems to have issued from the primal Being, the Abyss, who dwelt alone with his Ennoia, or Thought. These were Christ and Sophia Achamoth, the Spirit and Chaos. The former of each of these powers was perfect, the latter imperfect. Sophia Achamoth, departing from the primal source of purity, formed Ialdabaoth, the Prince of Darkness, the Demiurge, an inferior, but not directly malignant, being—the Satan, or Samaël, or Michael. The tutelar angel of the Jews was Ophis, the Serpent—a reflection of Ialdabaoth. With others, the Serpent was the symbol of Christ himself; and hence the profound abhorrence with which this obscure sect was beheld by the more orthodox Christians."

Schaff identifies the terms Ophites and Naasenes, and says that there were three sects of them,[3] the Sethites, the Peratae or Pera-

[1] l. c.

[2] *Hist. of Christianity*, Vol. II, 81. Milman's authorities are: Hippolytus.—*Philosophumena*, p. 133; and two modern works: Matter.—*Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme et de son Influence sur les Sectes Religieuses et Philosophiques des six Premiers Siècles*, Paris: 1828. 2d ed., Strasburg and Paris: 1844; and Mosheim.—*Comment. de Rebus ante Const.* Helmst.: 1753. In English by Vidal (1813); and by Murdock, New Haven: 1852.

[3] His authorities on the Ophites in general are Hippol.—*Philosoph.*, Bk. v, 1-23; Irenaeus.—*Adv. Haer.*, I, 30; Epiph.—*Haer.*, 37, and sundry modern works.

tics, and the Cainites. Milman[1] notes that the account of Hippolytus differs from most others. According to Hippolytus there were four sects of Ophites, the Naassenes, the Peratae, the Sethians, and the Justinians. The first three considered the serpent to be connected in some way with the divine essence, and were therefore related to the observers of the then universal Serpent-worship. The fourth sect, the Justinians, considered the serpent the seducer of Eve and the tempter of Christ in the wilderness. Just which of the four sects of Hippolytus was that of the Cainites is not clear. In any case, however, as the Serpent was a feature of all Ophite religion, the Cainites must have associated it in some way with Cain. This Serpent, Schaff thinks, was probably of Semitic pagan origin. But Herodotus[2] compares the Hydra to the dragons of Arabia, which must, of course, have been Semitic dragons. It may well have happened, therefore, that the serpent of the Cainites was closely connected with the Hydra.

Probably connected with these doctrines was a legend which Mr. Emerson mentions, though without any idea of connecting the Hydra with Cain. He quotes from Bartolocci:[3]

"Primus eorum Parens assignatur angelus, qui pulchritudine Evae illectus, equitans super serpentem ad eam ingreditur, ex quo concepit Kain, cujus figuram ut et illius posteritatis non humanum, sed angelicam fuisse autumnat, quae (Hebr.) generatio diluvii a Kabbinis nominatur, quarum animae daemones factae sint, et modo hominibus nocere aiunt, sed in futuro saeculo, nempne tempore Messiae, annihilabit eos Deus, ne amplius Israelitis neceant. (He refers here to R. Eliezer, Parakim, XXXIV, 29.) Etiam generatio diluvii in die judicii non resurget, sicut dictum est, gigantes non resurgent, Is. XXVI, 14. Omnes autem eorum animae factae sunt spiritus et daemones nocentes hominibus, et in futuro saeculo Deus sanctus benedictus perire eos faciet e mundo."

In the figures of St. Ambrose (d. 397) both Cain and the Hydra symbolized heretics; here we may have a reminiscence of earlier association. In his treatise, *de Cain et Abel*,[4] he says that

[1] l. c. p. 82, note b.
[2] My authority for this is Aldrovandus, l. c.
[3] *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, I, 290.
[4] Lib. I, Cap. II. Migne, *Pat. Lat.* XIV, 336.

as Abèl symbolized the Christians, so Cain symbolized the Jews. To this idea expression is also given in a commentary sometimes attributed to St. Ambrose.[1] But St. Ambrose also says :[2]

"Haeresis enim, velut quaedam Hydra fabularum, vulneribus suis crevit: et dum saepe reciditur, pullulavit, igni debita, incendioque peritura."

St. Cyprian also likens heretics to the Hydra. I quote from Aldrovandus[3]:

"Cyprianvs, libro primo de Incarnatione Christi, Hydram optimo jure ad faecunditatem haeresum comparauit. Scripsit enim, quòd haereses in Ecclesijs Hydrae similitudinem gerunt, quoniam istae aduersus nostras mentes linguis feralibus sibilant, et lethale virus jaculantur; immò truncatis capitibus renascuntur."

The accessible bestiaries throw no light upon this association of Cain and the Hydra. On the contrary, the Hydrus of the bestiaries cited by Lauchert[4] and Mann[5] usually symbolized Christ. For as the Hydrus slipped into the mouth of the crocodile and discommoded him considerably by consuming his intestines, so did Christ harrow hell. Though the Hydrus was also made to symbolize the devil,[6] Cain was not brought in. It is improbable, therefore, that the connection of the Hydra with Cain was originally in any story of the bestiaries.

To sum up then we have the following facts: (1) the descent of Grendel from Cain in the *Beowulf*; (2) the descent of hell-monsters from Cain in the rabbinical writings, and the appearance of the Hydra as a monster of Hades in the *Aeneid*; (3) the similarities, pointed out by Mr. Hagen, between Grendel and the Hydra, similarities strengthened by the general similarity of many of the figures of the *Beowulf* to those of classic story; (4) the association of the Hydra and Cain in the

[1] *Berengaudi expositio in Apocalypsin*, Cap. VI, Migne, *Pat. Lat.* XVII, 894.

[2] This is noted by Goldstaub and Wendriner (*Ein Tosco-Venezianischer Bestiarius*, Halle: Niemeyer, 1892, p. 357, note 1). They refer to Rabanus Maurus (*de Universo Libri*, Cap. VII, *de Portentis*. Migne, *Pat. Lat.* CXI, 198) and to St. Ambrose (*de Fide ad Gratianum Augustum*, Cap. VI. Migne, *Pat. Lat.* XVI, 561). Rabanus Maurus, however, simply quotes St. Ambrose.

[3] l. c. [4] *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strassburg: Trübner, 1889, pp. 25, 302.

[5] "Der Bestiaire Divin des Guillaume le Clerc." *Franz. Stud.*, VI, 2, 52.

[6] Lauchert.—l. c., 153.

*Enfer* and in the work of Aldrovandus; (5) the existence of the Cainite Ophites, who followed Cain as an example and at the same time worshipped a serpent taken from eastern, probably Semitic, mythology; (6) a comparison by Herodotus of the Hydra with Arabian (hence Semitic) dragons; (7) a likening by St. Ambrose and by St. Cyprian of heretics to the Hydra; and a symbolizing of the Jews by the person of Cain, in the work of St. Ambrose.

That these facts are not clearly connected is evident. They are but flitting shadows upon that curtain behind which remain concealed so many of the legends of the dark ages. Nevertheless we may, from these appearances of the ghosts of older stories, attempt to reconstruct the general outlines of the original tale or tales from which they sprang:

Cain, in the doctrines of the Cainites, was, about the second century after Christ, associated with the serpent of eastern mythology and of the pagan serpent-worshippers, a serpent possibly connected at an earlier time with the Hydra. Simultaneously the Hydra was fulfilling his functions in Greek story and appearing in the *Aeneid* as a monster of Hades. Some early Christian, imbued both with Greek learning and with the wild tales of early apocryphal Christianity, fused the Christian and pagan elements and made the Hydra an associate in iniquity of Cain. But, at this time, Christian tradition, following the rabbinical books, derived monsters and devils from Cain; and this tradition was confused with the others; so that the monsters became in one version, at least, descendants of the Hydra, who was a contemporary and associate of Cain. In this uncertain form the story, after many centuries of obscure repetition, was preserved at last by Clément Marot. In the meantime, however, the poet of the *Beowulf* had further confounded the Hydra, or Grendel, with the hell-monsters of the rabbinical books and had made it one of them, and hence a descendant of Cain.

Now, on the basis of this argument, it is impossible to cut out the references to Cain in the *Beowulf*. For Grendel is one of the two most primitive features of the poem. And Grendel, in the form of the Hydra, was, in one of the unknown, pre-Beowulfian sources of the poem, associated with Cain. But we may strengthen still

further this evidence for a pre-Beowulfian fusing of Christianity and paganism in the story of Grendel.

We have noted that, with one sect of the Ophites, the serpent was the serpent of the Bible, that is Satan. Cain is also associated with Satan in the doctrines of Valentinus,[1] a Gnostic of the second century, though not an Ophite Gnostic. Valentinus divided mankind into three classes, who were, to quote Milman, "the spiritual, who are enlightened with the divine joy from Jesus; the animal or psychic, the offspring and kindred of the Demiurge; the material, the slaves and associates of Satan, the prince of the material world." The classes were, in a mystic fashion, symbolized by Seth, Abel, and Cain, Cain representing the associates of Satan.

In consequence, if the Hydra were associated with the Cainite serpent, he would, at the same time, have been associated with Satan. But, as Mr. Emerson shows, the monstrous descendants of Cain became devils, and in this form appeared in the *Beowulf*. So that the Hydra must, when he was identified as one of these monsters, have become a devil, whether he was or was not previously regarded as one. The transformation was probably easy, since the Hydra had already been presented by Virgil as an infernal monster.

But when the monsters became devils, they were, as Mr. Emerson shows, confused with the fallen angels, and also as such appeared in the *Beowulf*. A few parallels not mentioned by Mr. Emerson may be noted for the further identification of the traces of the story of the fallen angels.

In 3073 occurs the phrase *hell-bendum fæst*, which recalls that Satan, in the *Lament of the Fallen Angels*, says

[2] And ic in wite sceal
bidan in bendum.

In the same poem occurs [3]

Nu earttu earm sceaðða
in fyrlocan fæste gebunden.

and [4]

[1] Milman.—l. c.
[2] ll. 48b–49a.
[3] ll. 57b–58.
[4] ll. 323–325a.

þonne wæs heora aldor, þe ðær ærest com
forð on feþan, fæste gebunden
fyre and lige.

in the *Genesis*,[1]

Ac licgað me ymbe irenbendas,
rideð racentan sal: ic eom rices leas.
Habbað me swa hearde helle clommas
fæste befangen.

in the *Harrowing of Hell*,[2]

Gelærde unc se atola, se ðe æfre nu
beorneð on bendum.

If, then, the poet of the *Beowulf* founded his story upon a Christianized version of Greek stories, the mingling of the pagan and Christian elements took place in the pre-Beowulfian tale. But, on the other hand, we cannot go to the other extreme and consider the traces of German heathenism foreign to the poem.[3] For the story of Grendel contains heathen elements of a germanic nature, which are so fundamental in character that they cannot be stricken out. In lines 1233ᵇ–1238ᵃ we have

þær wæs symbla cyst,
druncon win weras: wyrd ne cuðon,
geosceaft grimme, swa hit agangen wearð
eorla manegum, syððan æfen cwom
ond him Hroðgar gewat to hofe sinum,
rice to ræste.

This passage the dissectors consider free from any suspicion of Christian rehandling. If it be heathen, then are *wyrd* and its appositive expression, *geosceaft grimme*, heathen conceptions. Yet, only a few lines further on,[4] *geosceaft* is used in connection with the Christian Cain–Grendel story, where the poet, having spoken of Cain, continues:

þanon woc fela
geosceaft-gasta; wæs þæra Grendel sum.

In the story of the giants is a similarly inseparable trace of northern pagan story. That the giants destroyed by the flood

[1] ll. 371–374ᵃ. [2] ll. 48–49ᵃ.

[3] Sarrazin, in a recent article ("Neue Beowulf-studien." *Eng. Stud.* xxxv, 25, 1905), adds to his previously published notes on the northern heathenism of the *Beowulf*.

[4] l. 1267.

were, in Jewish and patristic Christian writings, identified both with the descendants of Cain and with the giants of Greek mythology, who warred against Jove, is shown by Mr. Emerson. He does not, however, believe that the Teutonic giants entered into the conception of the *Beowulf* poet, and refers the origin of the giant-smith to Tubal-Cain, rather than to Weland. The allusions of lines 113, 1563, and 1678–1687 lend support to this view. In 1688–1699[a], however, the flood story and the monster story are connected with the northern mysticism of the runic letters:

Hroðgar maðelode, hylt sceawode,
ealde lafe, on þeem wæs or writen
fyrn-gewinnes; syððan flod ofsloh,
gifen geotende, giganta cyn;
frecne geferdon: þæt wæs fremde þeod
ecean dryhtne, him þæs ende-lean
þurh wæteres wylm waldend sealde.
Swa wæs on þeem scennum sciran goldes
þurh run-stafas rihte gemearcod,
geseted ond geseed, hwam þæt sweord geworht,
irena cyst, serest wære,
wreoðen-hilt ond wyrm-fah.

If, then, the poet could so mingle diverse material, setting a classical myth in Denmark, and promoting a feud between the Hydra, transformed into a Jewish monster descended from Cain, and the Dane, Hroðgar, it is difficult to see why he might not have written all the passages of the *Beowulf*, whether Christian and classical or of germanic heathenism. The dragon story, as Mr. Emerson points out, is largely germanic in its material. Yet the Christian passages in it could only be cut out upon the theory that it was of pagan origin; but, as it is a prolongation of the Christian narrative of Beowulf, this is unthinkable.

In two places in the poem the contrast of Christianity with paganism passes into contradiction. In one, however, it is easily explicable: the conflict is that of the supremacy of *wyrd* with that of the Creator. The Anglo-Saxon had come face to face with the problem of blind fate *versus* the free will of the Deity. The concepts involved in the problem were, according to the view of Mr.

Hugh Fraser Stewart,[1] taken from the *Consolation* of Boethius. The problem the poet could not solve; so he held to his *wyrd*, which was certainly pagan, whether classical or germanic, and sang:

[2] Gæð a Wyrd swa hio scel!

and again:

[3] Swa him Wyrd ne gescraf
hreð æt hilde;

but at the same time held to the Christian conception and said:

[4] Hie Wyrd forsweop
on Grendles gryre. God eaðe mæg
þone dol-sceaðan dæda getwæfan!

In another place *Wyrd* and *Metod*, which suggests a Christian idea, are in apposition:

[5] Ac unc sceal weorðan æt wealle, swa unc Wyrd geteoð,
Metod manna gehwæs.

In the *Elene*, which is markedly Christian, we have the same conflict:

[6] Huru Wyrd gescraf,
þæt he swa geleaffull ond swa leof Gode
in worldrice weorðan sceolde,
Criste gecweme.

Elsewhere in the Christian poems, as in modern speech, we find prevalent an unreconciled and, to the Anglo-Saxon as to us, unexplained *Wyrd*.

The other inconsistent passage offers more serious difficulty. The Danes of the poem are Christians; so that the characterization of them, at the end of section III, as heathen, introduces a contradiction too violent to be explained on the ground of loose construction. Moreover, the homiletic ending, which recalls so strongly those of the later Cynewulfian group of poems, finds no parallel in the *Beowulf*. These lines, 175–188, may, therefore, it seems to me, be accounted the one interpolated passage of the poem.[7]

[1] *Boethius*. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1891, pp. 165–167.
[2] l. 455[b]. See *infra*, p. 51. [3] ll. 2575[b]–2576[a]. [4] ll. 477[b]–479.
[5] ll. 2527–2528[a]. [6] ll. 1046[b]–1049[a]. [7] See *infra*, pp. 53–54.

The other Christian passages[1] of the *Beowulf* offer no difficulties, when we admit that the original conception of the Grendel story was Christian; while the coexistent paganism is easily enough understood, when we have once noticed how the Anglo-Saxon poets mingled diverse themes drawn from the various sources from which came the elements of their civilization.

[1] For a list of these see Sarrazin's "Neue Beowulf-Studien." *Eng. Stud.* XXIII, 253.

# STUDY II.

## Irrelevant Episodes and Parentheses as Features of Anglo-Saxon Poetic Style.

Among the most noteworthy of those features of the *Beowulf* that have led to a belief in interpolation are irrelevant parentheses and episodes. Some of these have been criticised for the reason that they introduce contradictions or repeat parts of the story, as well as because they are irrelevant. It is the purpose of the present study, however, to discuss their irrelevant nature only. This is done in order to see if it may not appear that the feature is common to most of the longer narrative Anglo-Saxon poems, and therefore one of Anglo-Saxon poetic style,[1] not a mark of interpolation.

The parentheses and episodes of the Anglo-Saxon poets are the result of the discursiveness which characterizes their poetry throughout. A passing figure or reference, brought in to adorn the narrative, suggested elaboration or explanation. This was given, sometimes for the sake of clearing up any obscurity which may have existed in the hearers' minds, sometimes for the enriching of the narrative, often simply because the garrulity of the poet overmastered his restraints, and he was loth to leave out any tags of information or of ancient gossip which might interest his hearers. These explanatory or enriching passages fall into four classes:

[1] That episodic parentheses may have been features of ancient epic style has been suggested: for example, by Croiset (*Histoire de la Litérature Grecque.*—Paris: Thorin, 1887. Vol. I, Ch. III.) for the Greek epics; by Cauer (*Zeit. f. d. Alt.* XXXIV, 145.) for the *Nibelungenlied;* and, more concretely, by Pauls ("Zur Stilistik der Alts. Genesis, *Beiträge*, XXX, 142. Jan., 1905) for the Old-Saxon *Genesis.* A comparative study of these features has been made for the *Iliad*, the *Odessey*, and the *Nibelungenlied* by Wackernagel in his *Poetik, Rhetorik, u. Stilistik* (Halle: Verlag des Waisenhauses, 1873, p. 75 et seq.). His attitude, however, is that of Wolf and Lachmann.

(1) The poet pauses in his tale to tell of the antecedents of some person or thing of which he has spoken; Beowulf carries to battle the sword, Hrunting,[1] and this suggests some words concerning its history; a mention of Satan in the *Genesis* repeatedly prompts a recapitulation of his downfall. (2) The poet, in touching upon a figure or event of another tale, is sometimes fain to tell, for the sake of completeness, what happened afterwards. Thus, at the end of the *Temptation of Christ*, the Saviour's rebuke of Satan recalls the fact that the fiend will go back to hell; whereupon a picture of his return is added, with the taunts of his diabolic host, a feature which has no counterpart in the original story. (3) The poet frequently sees fit to turn aside from his story in order to point a moral. (4) The conjunction of certain features, having become conventional, is sometimes preserved perfunctorily, even though one or more of the features may have no logical reason for its appearance; a mention of the misdeeds of Satan, of his angels, or of evil persons may be accompanied by remarks which allude to their punishment.

Of the first class of these passages, of those which recall past events, an example appears in the Freaware episode[2] of the *Beowulf*. Most of it is obscure. Yet Müllenhoff's objection, that Freaware had at this time been only promised to Ingeld, whereas, in the following passage, the whole tragedy is sketched, seems scarcely tenable. Beowulf, in telling of the court of Hroðgar, mentions the princess. This suggests to the poet a further explanation of her identity; whereupon there is introduced this tale of earlier events. At the beginning he says that Freaware had been promised to Ingeld, but does not intimate that she was still so when Beowulf saw her. Then comes a series of passages narrative of the past, but all alike couched in the present.[3] The friend of the Scyldings counts it as gain that he has appeased the feud by the marriage; but then it often happens that bloodshed follows close the compacts of weddings; then the aged Heaðobard inflames

[1] ll. 1459–1473.

[2] ll. 2025ᵇ–2067.

[3] For similar usage with a subsequent change to the preterite, see the introductory lines of the *Christ*.

the bridegroom, and the tragedy follows. *Þy ic Heaðobeardna*, moralizes Beowulf in conclusion, *hyldo ne telge*. Then, having digressed too long, he says *Ic sceal forð sprecan gen ymbe Grendel*, and plunges into the account of his own adventure.

In the portion of the *Genesis* which is taken from the Old Saxon we have a digression of the same sort. In the *Genesis*, as a whole, there is, after a brief introduction, an account of the fall of the rebel angels. Following it come in succession the creation of light, of the earth and its appurtenances, and of Adam and Eve. The part taken from the Old Saxon begins with the edict concerning the forbidden fruit.[1] Now, whatever may have preceded this in the Old Saxon, the poet has evidently arrived at the point where the scriptural narrative places the seduction of Adam and Eve. Here, however, he saw that the abrupt introduction of Satan's machinations without an explication of what led up to them would, to the taste of his audience, be inadmissible; while, if there were, as in the originally Anglo-Saxon part of the poem, an earlier account of the fall, it was too remote to supply the need. He therefore introduces an account of the fall of the angels, this in defiance of chronologic sequence. After it comes an harangue in which Satan first laments his fallen condition, then observes that his greatest anguish is caused by seeing Adam in enjoyment of his lost share of joy, then, by these steps, arrives at a determination to tempt the new inhabitants of Paradise. This explanation being complete, the poet is now at liberty to go on with the narrative of the temptation and fall; which he does. The whole of this account of the fall of the angels forms an interlude which to the modern reader seems irrelevant. It shows, however, that the usage that we are considering in Anglo-Saxon prevailed also in Old Saxon.

Another shorter parenthetic explanatory reference to foregoing events occurs in the *Genesis*, in the part taken from the Old Saxon:[2]

> Đa spræc Eue eft, idesa scienost,
> wifa wlitegost, (hie wæs geweorc Godes,
> þeah heo þa on deofles cræft bedroren wurde):
> [Here follows speech of Eve.]

[1] ll. 235–246.

[2] ll. 822b–823.

In the *Exodus* the host marches by tribes, *cynn æfter cynne.* This, however, seemed to require explanation; and, as the Anglo-Saxon poet was always averse to ignoring such a requirement, he added in this case:[1]

cuðe æghwilc
mægburga riht, swa him Moises bead,
eorla æðelo. Him wæs an fæder:
leof leodfruma; landriht geþah,
frod on ferhðe, freomagum leof,
cende cneowsibbe cenra manna,
heahfædera sum halige þeode,
Israela cyn, onriht godes,
Swa þæt orþancum ealde reccað,
þa þe mægburge mæst gefrunon,
frumcyn feora, fæderæðelo gehwæs.

This, however, does not explain the matter entirely. For it yet remains to be seen just how the Israelites were descended from the patriarch in question. A sketch of older Hebrew history is therefore incorporated into the poem, and we have Noah's flood, the sacrifice of Isaac, and so on.[2] How far this sketch was carried is uncertain; for at the end, as it stands, is a gap. It ends in the MS. with page 163. Thorpe,[3] the first editor, says:

"Between 164 and 165 (which are blank in the MS.) are vestiges of mutilation, whereby Canto XLVIII seems to be lost."

Page 166 of the MS. begins Canto XLVIII with further narrative of the main event, the exodus of the Israelites. This explanatory sketch of preceding history is, as far as the main story is concerned, irrelevant, and has not, as perhaps with the passage noted in the *Genesis*, the excuse of recalling to mind a preceding part of the poem.

In the Anglo-Saxon *Harrowing of Hell*, Christ, on coming into Hell, is addressed by Peter. This recognition recalls to the poet the doubt of Thomas, who did not recognize him:[4]

[1] ll. 351ᵇ–361.

[2] It has been pointed out by Professor Bright (cf. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Association*, XVIII, p. xxxiii.) that the poet of the *Exodus* depended, for his choice of material, upon the prophecies read in the service of the church on Holy Saturday. The poet has rearranged the material with reference to a centralizing theme.

[3] *Cædmon*, p. 206.

[4] ll. 177–181.

Sume hit ne mihton mod oncnawan ;
þæt wæs se deora, Didimus wæs haten,
ær he mid hondum hælend genom
sylfne be sidan, þær he his swat forlet
feallon to foldan, fulwihtes bæð.

This, in turn, recalls the crucifixion ; and the poet continues :

Fæger wæs þæt ongin, þæt freodrihten
geþrowode, þeoden ure :
he on beame astah ond his blod ageat
God on galgan þurh his gastes mægen.

After this come some moralizing lines ; after which the next canto opens with Christ's appearance on earth after the resurrection, that is, after the harrowing of hell. The digression, in this case, can scarcely be considered designed for the information of an audience ; for the preceding events of the crucifixion must have been known to all hearers. Here the constructive form has evidently become a dead convention, which has lost its original significance or degenerated in the hands of a weak poet.

A similar conventional episode appears in the *Fates of the Apostles*,[1] where the poet, after saying that John was, of the apostles, dearest to Christ, adds the conventional reminder of the past of Jesus. John was dearest

syððan wuldres cyning,
engla ordfruma eorðan sohte
þurh fæmnan hrif fæder manncynnes.

After which the poet continues with John's career in Ephesia.

In the *Christ*[2] the poet, after an introduction, starts upon the subject of the Immaculate Conception. The mystery of the thing, however, leads him to sing :[3]

[1] ll. 27b–29.

[2] The quotations from the *Christ* have been chosen with caution. The poem—or trilogy of poems—has been drawn upon very little for material, because its laudatory character admits rhetorical constructions which would not appear in a narrative, in consequence of which it cannot well be compared with story-telling poems. The examples given show, however, that the poet, in writing the *Christ*, used, at least occasionally, devices similar to those of his, and other narratives.

[3] ll. 42–49.

Eal giofu gæstlic grundsceat geondspreot,
þær wisna fela wearð inlihted
lare longsume þurh lifes fruman,
þe ær under hoðman biholen lægon,
witgena woðsong, þa se waldend cwom
se þe reorda gehwæs ryne gemiclaþ
ðara þe geneahhe noman scyppendes
þurh horscne had hergan willaþ.

The reference to lore and prophecies suggests a digression of sixteen lines and a half. This starts with the apostrophe to Jerusalem and ends with another reference to the prophets; after which comes a transition passage,[1]

Nu is þæt bearn cymen
awæcned to wyrpe weorcum Ebrea,
bringeð blisse þe, benda onlyseð
niþum geneðde, nearoþearfe conn,
hu se earma sceal are gebidan.

This brings the poet once more to the subject of the Immaculate Conception. This digression is not strictly an explanation of past events, though the association of the prophets with Jerusalem is sufficiently strong to justify including it in the category of the digressions we have been noticing.

In the *Elene*,[2] Constantine finds the place of the crucifixion; after which is added an entirely supererogatory remark concerning past history; the place, says the narrator, is the place where Christ was crucified through envy and hate,

Swa se ealda feond
forlærde ligesearwum, leode fortyhte,
Iudea cyn, þæt hie God sylfne
ahengon, herga fruman.

In the poem of *The Panther*, the poet begins his simile[3] with part two:

Swa is dryhten God dreama rædend
eallum eaðmede oþrum gesceaftum,
duguða gehwylcre, butan dracan anum
attres ordfruman: þæt is se ealda feond.

but here is suggested the inevitable explanation of something past, and he adds:

[1] ll. 66b–70. [2] ll. 207b–210a. [3] ll. 55–58.

þone he gesælde in susla grund
ond gefetrade fyrnum teagum,
biþeahte þreanydum; ond þy þriddan dæge
of digle aras, þæs þe he deaþ fore us
þreo niht þolade, þeoden engla,
sigora sellend.

So far we have been considering Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon usage. That these parentheses, which explain the past, were not in all cases originally Anglo-Saxon or Old Saxon is shown by their appearance in two Latin originals, from which they were carried into the vernacular.

In the *Juliana* the fiend is constrained to tell his history to Juliana,[1] a proceeding which does nothing to help the narrative, but serves to introduce the fiend with a sketch of his past. This autobiographic sketch appears in the Latin original.[2]

The context of it, as well as the passage itself, is reproduced with substantial fidelity in the Anglo-Saxon; that is, it is preceded and followed by present events of the narrative and forms in itself an interlude concerning the past.

Similarly, in the *Phœnix* an apparently irrelevant reference to the past is due to a Latin original. In the Anglo-Saxon, the poet, in telling of the plain where lived the blessed bird, remarks on its history:[3]

Swa iu wætres þrym
ealne middangeard, mereflod þeahte,
eorþan ymbhwyrft, þa se æþela wong
æghwæs onsund wiþ yðfare
gehealden stod hreora wæga
eadig unwemme, þurh est Godes,

a version undoubtedly of the lines of Lactantius,[4]

Cum Phaëthonteis flagrasset ab ignibus axis,
Ille locus flammis inviolatus erat;
Et cum diluvium mersisset fluctibus orbem,
Deucalioneas exsuperavit aquas.

[1] ll. 289–315[a].

[2] *Life of St. Juliana. Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists. Feb. 16. A part of this confession of the fiend is quoted by Grein, and repeated by Wülker in the *Bibliothek* (III, 125).

[3] ll. 41[b]–46.

[4] *de Ave Phœnice*, ll. 11–14. I have used the text in Professor Bright's *Reader*, New York: Holt & Co., 1899.

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Turning now again to the *Beowulf*, we find a characteristic example, in the account of the sword-hilt which Beowulf brings from the den of Grendel's mother, of the usage which we have been considering.

Hroðgar, as he begins to speak, holding the hilt, sees an inscription upon it. This suggests to the poet an explanation of the inscription together with further words as to who put it there and what happened to them afterwards.[1] This is all parenthetic. At the end is repeated the statement, so bluntly cut short by the divagation that Hroðgar spoke; after which follows his speech.[2] That this is entirely in accord with Anglo-Saxon rhetorical usage is shown by a close parallel of construction from the *Genesis*.[3] There the announcement that Satan spoke suggests the added touch, *þe ær wæs engla scynost*, which in turn suggests a parenthetic repetition of the already much belabored theme of his fall. But the *Genesis* here outdoes the *Beowulf;* for the repetition of the announcement that Satan spoke is followed by a second parenthetic disquisition concerning his past. After that comes for a third time the statement that he spoke; after which the poet at last gets started upon the speech. The passages are as follows—the parenthetic lines are enclosed in provisional brackets—:

| Beowulf. | Genesis. |
|---|---|
| Hroðgar maðelode, [hylt sceawode, | þa spræc se ofermoda cyning, [þe |
| ealde lafe, on þæm wæs or writen | ær wæs engla scynost, |
| fyrn-gewinnes; syððan flod ofsloh, | hwittost on heofnon ond his hearran |
| gifen geotende, giganta cyn; | leof, |
| frecne geferdon: þæt wæs fremde | drihtne dyre, oð hie to dole wurdon, |
| þeod | þæt him for galscipe God sylfa wearð, |
| ecean dryhtne, him þæs ende-lean | mihtig on mode yrre, wearp hine on |
| þurh wæteres wylm waldend sealde. | þæt morðer innan |
| Swa wæs on þæm scennum sciran | niðer on þæt niobedd ond sceop him |
| goldes | naman siððan, |
| þurh run-stafas rihte gemearcod, | cwæð, þæt se hehsta hatan sceolde |

[1] ll. 1688b–1699a.

[2] The custom of the Anglo-Saxon poets of using a grammatical parenthesis immediately before a speech has been noticed by Dr. George Philip Krapp. ("The Parenthetic Exclamation in Old English Poetry," *Mod. Lang Notes*, xx, 33, Feb., 1905.)

[3] ll. 338b–355a.

BEOWULF.

geseted ond gesæd, hwan þæt sweord geworht,
irena cyst, ærest wære,
wreoðen-hilt ond wyrm-fah] þa se wisa spræc
sunu Healfdenes (swigedon ealle):

[Here follows speech of Hroðgar.]

GENESIS.

Satan siððan, het hine þære sweartan helle
grundes gyman nalles wið God winnan.]
Satan maðelode, sorgiende spræc,
[se ðe helle forð healdan sceolde,
gyman þæs grundes: wæs ær godes engel,
hwit on heofne, oð hine his hyge forspeon
ond his ofermetto ealra swiðost,
þæt he ne wolde wereda drihtnes
word wurðian. Weoll him on innan.
hyge ymb his heortan; hat wæs him utan
wraðlic wite.] He þa worde cwæð:

[Here follows speech of Satan.]

The same construction appears at the beginning of the *Widsið:*

Widsið maðolade, wordhord onleac,
se þe monna mæst mægþa ofer eorþan,
folca geondferde: oft he on flette geþah
mynelicne maþþum. Him from Myrgingum
æþelo onwocon. He mid Ealhhilde,
fælre freoþuwebban, forman siþe
Hreðcyninges ham gesohte
eastan of Ongle Eormanrices,
wraþes wærlogan. Ongon þa worn sprecan:

[Here follows speech.]

It also appears in the *Waldere.*[1]

Waldere maðelode, wiga ellenrof,
hæfde him on handa hildefrofre,
guðbilla gripe, gyddode wordum.

[Here follows speech.]

The division of a single concept of speaking by an intruding paraphrase finds another analogue at the beginning of the *Azarias*, where the pious Israelite pauses with his mouth open, as it were, on the verge of speaking, while the poet explains:

[1] B, ll. 11–13.

Him þa Azarias ingeþoncum
hleoþrede, halig þurh hatne lig,
dreag dædum georn, dryhten herede,
wis in weorcum, ond þas word acwæð:

then comes his speech.

In another place Beowulf brings up a past episode, his adventure with the nickers, in evidence of his strength, of which he has spoken.[1]

The two Cain passages,[2] which explain Grendel's descent from Cain, are, in construction, of this nature, explanations of the past of the character in question. The second is lengthened by an appended recapitulation of the earlier fight of Grendel with Beowulf.

When Wealhþeo presents a collar to Beowulf the poet says:[3]

Nænigne ic under swegle selran hyrde
hord-madmum hæleða, syððan Hama sætwæg
to þære byrhtan byrig Brosinga mene,
sigle ond sinc-fæt.

Then he adds the cryptic remark,

scaro-niðas fleah
Eormenrices, geceas ecne ræd,

a passage which evidently refers to something past.

Another irrelevant reference to past events is suggested by Beowulf's bearing, on his return to the court. From this[4] we have the interesting fact that Beowulf was despised by his people and considered slothful and worthless, until he had convinced them of his valor by subsequent displays of prowess. That the events to which reference is made in this passage preceded the adventure with Grendel is not unequivocally stated. The poet can scarcely, however, have meant that the Geats still held Beowulf in slight esteem after his famous fight.

Yet another irrelevant passage of the same sort occurs in the place where is explained the origin of the treasures in the fire-dragon's abode.[5]

[1] ll. 419–424[a]. [2] ll. 104[b]–114 and 1262[b]–1277[a].
[3] ll. 1198–1201[a]. [4] ll. 2184[b]–2189[a]. [5] ll. 2234–2282[a].

Again, in the passage which is concerned with the deeds performed by Beowulf in the interval between his arrival home from Denmark and his fight with the dragon, we have an explanation of foregoing events.[1] This is suggested by the words which show his attitude, as he comes to the last contest:[2]

No he him þa sæcce ondred,
ne him þæs wyrmes wig for wiht dyde,
eafoð ond ellen; forþon he ær fela
nearo neðende niða gedigde,
hilde-hlemma, syððan he Hroðgares,
sigor-eadig secg, sele fælsode
ond æt guðe forgraþ Grendeles mægum,
laðan cynnes.

It is noteworthy that the transition into the passage concerning the past is here an easy one. The transition at the end which leads back to current events is even more gracefully managed. It reads:[3]

Swa he niða gehwane genesen hæfde,
sliðra geslyhta, sunu Ecgþiowes,
ellen-weorca, oð þone anne dæg,
þe he wið þam wyrme gewegan sceolde.

In the next line he sets out to find the dragon. Thus, while the ease with which one passes into this section of the poem and out of it again gives little support to a belief in dual or multiple authorship, the similarity of the section to those of the class which we have been considering gives strong presumption that all embody merely a stylistic feature.

Again Hroðgar, when Beowulf has been presented to him, recalls the hero's father and goes into reminiscences concerning him. This recalls to the speaker his own youth, of which he tells some events.[4]

Yet again, we have Beowulf's own reminiscences of his past exploits, suggested by his impending struggle with the dragon and made melancholy with a premonition that the fight is to be his last. With this passage[5] we pass away from the disjointed, and to us strange, episodic parentheses of the Anglo-Saxon poets to some-

[1] ll. 2355b–2401. [2] ll. 2348b–2355a. [3] ll. 2398–2401.
[4] ll. 459–472. [5] ll. 2427–2509a.

thing more akin to modern feeling as well as to modern literary usage.

A similar digression occurs in the lament over Beowulf's death.[1] The speaker says:

> Nu ys leodum wen
> orleg-hwile, syððan underne
> Froncum ond Frysum fyll cyninges
> wide weorðeð.

This suggests tales of past wars, into which the speaker is made to plunge without any transitional step. The relevancy of the tales is from the outstart apparent when we fill in for ourselves, as must have done the Anglo-Saxon audience, the connecting ideas and perceive that things such as these narrated are what the subjects of Beowulf may expect, now that their defender is dead. But this is made clear, after some lines, by the remark,[2]

> Us wæs a syððan
> Merewioinga milts ungefeðe.
> Ne ic to Sweo-þeode sibbe oððe treowe
> wihte ne wene.

At the end is a more specific explanation:[3]

> þæs þe ic wen hafo,
> þe us secað to Sweona leode,
> syððan hie gefricgeað frean userne
> ealdor-leasne.

Concerning the nature of the interlude, however, all remaining doubt is removed by a remark of the poet at the end of the speech:[4]

> Swa se secg hwata secgende wæs
> laðra spella; he ne leag fela
> wyrda ne worda.

The episode of Đryðo seems at first hopelessly irrelevant to modern readers, despite the fact that Đryðo is brought in as a contrast to Hygd. The fact, however, that an irrelevant episode could be suggested by contrast, as well as by similarities, is shown in the passage cited from the *Harrowing of Hell*, as well as elsewhere in the *Beowulf*. Hroðgar, for example, when he receives the sword-hilt from Beowulf, praises the hero, assures him that he

[1] ll. 2914ᵇ–3001ᵃ. [2] ll. 2921ᵇ–2924ᵃ. [3] ll. 3001ᵇ–3004ᵃ.
[4] ll. 3029–3031ᵃ.

will be for comfort and help to his own people, and then continues:[1]

Ne wearð Heremod swa
eaforum Ecgwelan, Ar-Scyldingum;

after which he speaks further of the cruelties of Heremod and then says:[2]

þu þe lær be þon,
gum-cyste ongit! ic þis gid be þe
awræc wintrum frod.

Earlier in the poem is a similar irrelevant reference, probably to the same story, and again suggested by contrast:[3]

Heorot innan wæs
freondum afylled;

but

nalles facen-stafas
þeod-Scyldingas þenden fremedon.

Yet the connection in these places is not purely one of contrast; for the children of Ecgwela are Scyldings, and so relatives of Beowulf. In the case of the Þryðo episode, there is known to us no relationship between that redoubtable queen and the mild Hygd. Yet there may well have been some which would make the connection between the two figures, like that between Heremod and Beowulf, something more than a connection of contrast. If we look at the parenthetic passages already noticed, we will find that of the twenty-six cited only ten are introduced by means of any sort of transitional step. The others appear abruptly, with only a tacit understanding between poet and hearers as to their nature. For example the author says that there was written on the sword-hilt which Beowulf brought back from the lake the origin of an old contest; but he does not continue "Now this contest was waged by giants"; he plunges ahead with a summary of an old saga which must have been known to his audience and immediately recognized:[4]

Syððan flod ofsloh,
gifen geotende, giganta cyn.

[1] ll. 1710ª–1711. [2] ll. 1723ᵇ–1725ª. [3] ll. 1018ᵇ–1020.
[4] ll. 1690ᵇ–1691.

Now the Đryðo episode is introduced in exactly this manner; so that we may be justified in concluding that there subsisted between Đryðo and Hygd some connection other than that of contrast; and that this connection, the key to which is lost for us, must have been easily recognizable to the original auditors of the poem, who were not remotely removed from the time of Đryðo and the legends and songs of her career.

One set of episodes of the past yet remain, the songs of the scops. There are three: the song of creation,[1] the story of Sigmund and Fitela,[2] and the Finn story.[3] Here the poet indulges to the fullest extent his passion for bringing in tags of other stories. The story of Sigmund and Fitela is an ancient analogue of Beowulf's exploit, which the scop sets himself to celebrate; but in the other two songs there is not even the restraining necessity of making the episodes apropos. Realism required something more than the bare statement that the bard sang. The choice of themes appears to have been regulated only by the caprice or taste of the poet.

We come now to the second class of parenthetic irrelevancies, those which tell of something which happened to a person or thing subsequent to the appearance in the narrative. The example at the end of *Temptation of Christ* has already been noted.

In the *Elene*, Constantine's finding of the place of crucifixion suggests remarks as to how Satan beguiled the Jews into their crime. These have been quoted. Following them is a word about the future of those Jews: [4]

> to widan feore — þæs hie in hynðum sculon wergðu dreogan!

The character of these lines is different from that of the conventional Anglo-Saxon moralizings, which consign the pious to heaven and sinners to hell. The future is specifically that of persons of

[1] ll. 90[b]–98. [2] ll. 875[b]–916. [3] ll. 1069–1160[a].
[4] ll. 210[b]–211.

the poem, so that the passage may be included with those here treated.

In the *Beowulf* is a similar remark, which suggests this sort of parentheses.[1] It is in the place where the poet mentions the giants sprung from Cain, adds that they strove against God for a time, and then completes the sketch of their career by an indication of what happened afterwards:

> He him þæs lean forgeald.

Farther on in the poem, however, is a more perfect example of the usage. Wealhþeo, during the festivities in Heorot, presents a collar to Beowulf. Then the poet digresses in order to tell what became of the treasure:[2]

> þone hring hæfde Higelac Geata,
> nefa Swertinges, nyhstan siðe,
> siððan he under segne sinc ealgode,
> wæl-reaf werede; hyne wyrd fornam,
> syððan he for wlenco wean ahsode
> fæhðe to Frysum; he þa frætwe wæg,
> eorclan-stanas ofer yða ful,
> rice þeoden, he under rande gecranc;
> gehwearf þa in Francna fæðm feorh cyninges,
> breost-gewædu ond se beah somod:
> wyrsan wig-frecan wæl reafedon
> æfter guð-sceare, Geata leode
> hrea-wic heoldon.

The death of Hygelac, here foretold, does not actually take place until many years after and finds its chronologic place in the narrative at line 2202.

In the *Phœnix* we have a parenthesis of this sort taken from the Latin. In the lines of Lactantius, however, the reference to the future is not parenthetic and is confined to a note to the effect that the leaves in the happy place, where lives the Phœnix, are everlasting:[3]

> Hic solis nemus est et consitus arbore multa
> Lucus perpetuæ frondis honore virens.

This is followed by the reference to the past which has been already quoted. The Anglo-Saxon poet observes the same order;

[1] l. 114[b]. [2] ll. 1203–1215[a]. [3] ll. 9–10.

that is, he looks to the future, then to the past. Unlike Lactantius, however, he then takes a second glimpse of the future, before settling down to the present. The passages, omitting the one concerning the past, which has already been quoted, are as follows:[1]

Næfre brosniaþ
leaf under lyfte, ne him lig sceþeþ
æfre to ealdre, ær þon edwenden
worulde geweorðe.
. . . . . .
Bideþ swa geblowen oð bæles cyme
dryhtnes domes, þonne deaðræced
hæleþa heolstorcofan onhliden weorþaþ.

The third class of irrelevant parentheses is that of the moralizing interludes. These are sometimes pagan in tone, sometimes Christian. In the *Beowulf*, for example, we have the pagan sentiment:[2]

Swa sceal geong guma gode gewyrcean,
fromum feoh-giftum on fæder wine,
þæt hine on ylde eft gewunigen
wil-gesiðas, þonne wig cume,
leode gelæsten: lof-dædum sceal
in mægða gehwære man geþeon.

but in another place, the Christian reflection:[3]

Swa mæg unfæge eaðe gedigan
wean ond wræc-sið, se þe waldendes
hyldo gehealdeð.

Similar irrelevant moralizings or reflections occur in four places in the *Guðlac:* the poet, after speaking of Guðlac's temptations, says:[4]

Swa sceal oretta a in his mode
Gode compian ond his gæst beran
oft on ondan þam þe eahtan wile
sawla gehwylcre, þær he gesælan mæg!

after which he continues with his story. Again, we are told of the fiends who tempt Guðlac:[5]

[1] ll. 38b–49. [2] ll. 20–25. [3] ll. 2292–2294a.
[4] ll. 315–318. [5] ll. 536–540.

Hy hine bregdon, budon orlege,
egsan ond ondan arleaslice,
frecne fore, swa biŏ feonda þeaw,
þonne hy soŏfæstra sawle willaŏ
synnum beswican ond searocræftum.

In the next line the narrative is resumed with new vigor. Again, in the *Guðlac*, we have, in the midst of the saint's speech, some moral remarks by the poet:[1]

"Ic þone deman in dagum minum
wille weorþian wordum ond dædum,
lufian in life:" swa is lar ond ar
to spowendre spræce gelæded,
þam þe in his weorcum willan ræfnaŏ.

Then the saint continues

Sindon ge wærlogan, swa ge in wræcsiŏe
longe lifdon lege biscencte,
etc.

Still again in the *Guðlac*, the poet pauses in his narrative to say:[2]

Hwylc wæs fægerra
willa geworden in wera life,
þara þe yldran usse gemunde
oþþe we selfe siþþan cuþen?
Hwæt! we þissa wundra gewitan sindon:
eall þas geeodon in ussera
tida timan; forþon þæs tweogan ne þearf
ænig ofer eorðan ælda cynnes,
ac swilc god wyrceŏ gæsta lifes
to trumnaþe, þy læs þa tydran mod
þa gewitnesse wendan þurfe,
þonne hy in gesihþe soþes brucaŏ.
Swa se ælmihtiga ealle gesceafte
lufaŏ under lyfte in lichoman,
monna mægðe geond middangeard:
wile se waldend, þæt we wisdom a
snyttrum swelgan, þæt his soŏ fore us
on his giefena gyld genge weorðe,
ða he us to are ond to ondgiete
syleŏ ond sendeŏ, sawlum rymeŏ
liþe lifwegas leohte geræhte.

[1] ll. 590–594. I have followed Mr. Gollancz (*The Exeter Book. E. E. T. S.*, CIV, 143) in taking these remarks as outside of the quoted speech.
[2] ll. 720b–744.

Nis þæt huru læsast, þæt seo lufu cyþeð,
þonne heo in monnes mode getimbreð
gæstcunde gife, swa he Guðlaces
dagas ond dæde þurh his dom ahof.

After that the narrative is resumed.

In the *Andreas* the Lord speaks to Matthew in his tribulations and promises to send Andrew to help him; the Lord departs, and the poet says:[1]

He is on riht cyning
staðolfæst styrend in stowa gehwam,

then continues with the story.

In the *Genesis*,[2] in the part from the Old Saxon, the poet says that when the All-powerful had heard of Satan's presumption, the angel must expiate the deed,

worc þæs gewinnes gedælan ond sceolde his wite habban,
ealra morðra mæst:

apropos of which he remarks:

swa deð monna gehwilc,
þe wið his waldend winnan ongynneð,
mid mane wið þone mæran drihten!

With the succeeding half line begins an account of the angel's overthrow.

In the *Daniel* we are told how the Israelites prevailed in battle until they fell into drink and forsook the laws of God:[3]

Swa no man scyle
his gastes lufan wið Gode dælan.

Also in *Daniel* we read:[4]

Ða for ðam gylpe gumena drihten
forfangen wearð ond on fleam gewat,
ana on oferhyd ofer ealle men.
Swa wod wera on gewindagum
geocrostne sið in Godes wite,
ðara þe eft lifigende leode begete.

[1] ll. 120b–121. The length and elaboration of this remark differentiates it from the customary "That was a good king."
[2] ll. 296–299a. [3] ll. 20b–21. [4] ll. 613–618.

In *The Lament of the Fallen Angels* we find, after the sketchy account of the creation with which the poem opens:[1]

Hwa is þæt ðe cunne
orðonc clene nymðe ece God?

after which come further details of the creation.

Other irrelevancies of this sort appear in the *Beowulf* in the following passages:

[2] Men ne cunnon
hwyder hel-runan hwyrftum scriðaþ.

[3] Swa manlice mære þeoden,
hord-weard hæleða heaðo-ræsas geald
mærum ond madmum, swa hy næfre man lyhð,
se þe secgan wile soð æfter rihte.

[4] Metod eallum weold
gumena cynnes, swa he nu git deð;
forþan bið andgit æghwær selest,
ferhðes fore-þanc! fela sceal gebidan
leofes ond laðes, se þe longe her
on þyssum win-dagum worolde bruceð.

[5] Strenge getruwode,
mund-gripe mægenes. Swa sceal man don,
þonne he æt guðe gegan þenceð
longsumne lof, na ymb his lif cearaþ.

[6] Swa sceal mæg don,
nealles inwit-net oðrum bregdon,
dyrnum cræfte deaþ renian
hond-gesteallan.

[7] Aras þa bi ronde rof oretta,
heard under helme, hioro-sercean bær.
under stan-cleofu, strengo getruwode
anes mannes: ne bið swylc earges sið.

[8] Sibb æfre ne mæg
wiht onwendan þam þe wel þenceð.

All these reflections, both those from the *Beowulf*, and those from other poems, are given as sentiments of the poet, expressed

[1] ll. 17b–18.
[2] ll. 162b–163.
[3] ll. 1047–1050.
[4] ll. 1058b–1063.
[5] ll. 1534b–1537.
[6] ll. 2167b–2170a.
[7] ll. 2539–2542.
[8] ll. 2601b–2602.

upon his own responsibility. Besides these there are moralizings which are put into the mouths of various characters.

In the *Andreas*, the disciples of the apostle, after landing, dream of heaven; and in telling of it add:[1]

Đam biŏ hæleŏa well,
þe þara blissa brucan moton.

Also in the *Andreas* we find a moral which is not irrelevant, but which possesses, in form, a strong similarity to the foregoing ones, and which, therefore, lends support to the conviction that none of these passages appeared to be anything but relevant to an Anglo-Saxon audience. This again is from the mouth of a speaker of the story, in this case the Deity: a storm threatens the ship which is carrying Andrew to Mermedonia; the master of the ship, who is the Deity in disguise, says, in speaking of it:[2]

God eaŏe mæg
heaŏoliŏendum helpe gefremman.

In the *Daniel* a moral is put into the mouth of Daniel, who pronounces the doom of the great king, and then says:[3]

Oft Metod alæt monige ŏeode
. . . . . wyrcan, þonne hie woldon sylfe
fyrene fæstan, ær him fær Godes
þurh egesan gryre aldre gesceode.

Then the poet proceeds, in his own person, to tell how the king persisted in his sins.

Beowulf, upon his arrival at the Danish court, salutes Hroŏgar at length and ends with the request that, if he fall in fight, his byrny may be sent to Hygelac. This brings to his mind the old sentiment of fatalism that hovers so close to all peoples, and he concludes:[4]

Gæŏ a Wyrd swa hio scel!

Afterwards, however, his fatalism is less inflexible:

[5] Wyrd oft nereŏ
unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen deah!

[1] ll. 885b–886. [2] ll. 425b–426. [3] ll. 590–593. [4] l. 455b. See *supra*, pp. 29–30.
[5] ll. 572b–573.

In both places the sentiments form an appeal from the concrete facts of which he is speaking to a generalized conception of an overruling power, where lies the mystery and the unfathomable explanation of them all. Nevertheless, as the passages are distinct from the speeches about tangible and daily affairs in which they are set, they are of the nature of interludes.

When Beowulf returns from his second fight, Hroðgar addresses to him a long speech, much of which is sermonizing. The moral is here incorporated in a tale of past events; so that the two sorts of parentheses are combined, as is shown by the lines which follow the episode of Heremod and precede the sermon :[1]

> Þu þe lær be þon,
> gum-cyste ongit ! ic þis gid be þe
> awræc wintrum frod.

Again, Beowulf, in recounting the Freaware episode, reflects :[2]

> Oft no seldan hwær
> æfter leod-hryre lytle hwile
> bon-gar bugeð, þeah seo bryd duge !

Afterwards Beowulf, in speaking of his past life, uses a figure which is at once an illustration and a moral. The illustration helps to depict the sorrow of Hreðel when one of his sons, in accident, slays the other. As a moral the passage has a strikingly bald forcibleness :[3]

> Swa bið geomorlic gomelum ceorle
> to gebidanne, þæt his byre ride
> giong on galgan. etc.

after which comes the simile :[4]

> Swa Wedra helm
> æfter Herebealde heortan sorge
> weallende wæg.

After Beowulf's death, Wiglaf speaks in lamentation, and begins in that generalizing strain which seems to have a special appeal in the presence of danger or of death :[5]

[1] ll. 1723b–1725a.
[2] ll. 2030b–2032.
[3] ll. 2445–2447a.
[4] ll. 2463b–2465a.
[5] ll. 3078–3079.

Oft sceall eorl monig anes willan
wræc adreogan, swa us geworden is.

In view of such a prevalence of moralizing, some of which is relevant, but much of which seems entirely irrelevant to us, it is inadmissible to cut out any moralizing passage solely because it does not fit into its surroundings.

A subdivision of this class of passages comprises moralizings which are appended to poems or sections of poems by way of conclusion, and which are especially characteristic of Cynewulf. They appear at the ends of the *Phœnix*, the *Juliana*, and the *Wanderer*, in the *Christ*, in *The Lament of the Fallen Angels*, in the *Harrowing of Hell*, and in other places. One of these passages, at the end of section XIX of the *Christ*,[1] Professor Cook criticises on the ground of its disconnected and inappropriate character.[2] That it is neither artistic to modern ears nor wholly appropriate is undeniable. Yet it bears a similarity, in position, to these terminal morals and, at the same time, finds copious parallels, as to its irrelevance, in the passages we have been discussing. The idea that all sin will appear at the judgment day suggests a reflection to the effect that men like to preserve a decent reputation with their fellow-dwellers in the present world. This reflection the poet sets in in the fashion which was so much observed, that is without any expressed connective ideas.

One such terminal moral appears in the *Beowulf* at the end of section III.[3] As has been noted,[4] this passage may have to be relinquished as an interpolation on the ground that it contradicts, in a violent manner, the conception frequently expressed elsewhere

[1] ll. 1316–1326.

[2] Notes to edition of the *Christ* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1900):

"This reflection seems to me misplaced and inartistic—the most inartistic passage of the poem. The reference is not to the shame experienced at the Judgment Day in the presence of an assembled universe. . . . No, it is this life, and a bad name among men, that the poet is thinking of; surely an anti-climax, as well as irrelevant. Even if we suppose that it originally belonged elsewhere, and has been misplaced by a copyist, the case is not much improved; for it would be difficult to assign it a context into which it would fit."

[3] ll. 183$^{b}$–188. The bit of moralizing which appears at the end of section XXXV (ll. 2601$^{b}$–2602) is not of this nature, for it is merely thrown it between the parts of a narrative in which there is no pause at this point.

[4] *Infra*, p. 30.

in the poem that the Danes were Christians.[1] This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that, while nowhere else in the *Beowulf* is a chapter ended with a formal religious adhortation, many later poems, especially among the Cynewulfian, show features of this sort. It is true that in two of the other classes of irrelevancies, those which we have denominated classes II and IV,[2] there appear only two examples and one example, respectively, from the *Beowulf*. But in these classes examples are rare in Anglo-Saxon poetry in general; whereas constructions parallel to this particular passage are non-existent in the *Beowulf*, but abundant in later verse. In point of connectedness, or disconnectedness, however, the lines could have done no violence to Anglo-Saxon canons of taste.

The irrelevancies of the fourth class are somewhat different in nature. They are constructions in which two ideas have become so strongly associated that one þrings in the other despite any resultant irrelevancy. Two of these have already been cited[3] under the head of irrelevancies which deal with the past; namely, those which recall well known facts, in the one case of the crucifixion, in the other of the birth of Jesus. These two examples might, with equal validity, be included here. The other conventional irrelevancies do not, however, deal with past events, so fall together into a distinct group.

At the end of the *Exodus* is a passage the explanation of which has long been a hindrance to the complete elucidation of the poem. After the drowning of Pharaoh's army we read:[4]

> þa wæs eðfynde Afrisc meowle
> on geofones staðe, golde geweorðod,

a passage which is introduced without any apparent reason for its

[1] Professor Bright admits no possibility of interpolation here and holds the passage to indicate a temporary apostacy on the part of the Danes. This opinion is based upon the state of early Christianity. In times of distress apostacy was not uncommon, and these conditions the poet may have attempted to picture.

[2] See *supra*, p. 33.

[3] *Harrowing of Hell*, ll. 182–185, and *Fates of the Apostles*, ll. 27ᵇ–29.

[4] ll. 579–580.

appearance. That the maiden was Egyptian seems clear from the fact that she was African; but it is not clear that the poet imagined the Egyptians to have carried their women with them to war. An explanation of the matter may be given from the conventional association of looting and carrying off of maidens with the downfall of armies. In the *Genesis* we are told that, after the campaign of Chedorlaomer and Amraphel against Sodom and Gomorrah,[1]

> Sceolde forht monig
> blachleor ides bifiende gan
> on fremdes fæðm.

and again that[2]

> þa sæl-ageald
> mære ceastra; mægð siðedon,
> fæmnan ond wuduwan freondum beslægene
> from hleowstole. Hettend læddon
> ut mid æhtum Abrahames mæg
> of Sodoma byrig.

The author of the *Exodus* may, therefore, merely have set the conventions which he had followed in the *Genesis* above questions of artistic relevancy, a quality which, as we have seen, never bound the Anglo-Saxon poet very strongly.

An irrelevancy of a slightly different sort appears in the *Juliana*, both in the Latin and in the Anglo-Saxon: the Deity preserves by miracles the sainted martyr from the horrors of scourging, hanging by the hair combined with scourging, fire, boiling lead, and the endless addresses of the evil spirit, only to permit her enemies at the end to slay her with an ordinary sword stroke. In Alfric's *Life of St. Eugenia*[3] the same thing happens. The saint is saved miraculously from tortures, only to be slain by an ordinary executioner. So that here again established convention, this time Latin, rather than ethical consistency, may have been at work.

In one place in the *Beowulf* we find a puzzling passage which may be explained as conventional. It is the one in which, without even a premonition of the fact that Beowulf was married, his wife appears, at the end of the poem, to lament his death. Mül-

[1] ll. 1969ᵇ–1971ᵃ.
[2] ll. 2008ᵇ–2013ᵃ.
[3] E. E. T. S. LXXVI, 49.

lenhoff objects to this on the ground that it is foreign to the story. In the *Guðlac*, however, there is a sister of the saint, who does not appear in the narrative up to the point where the hero foresees his dissolution. Then, as death was associated with family ties, truthfulness to reality required the appearance of a near female relative. To her Guðlac sends his last messages; and she it is to whom the messenger laments his death. With Beowulf, who was not hampered by monkish vows, the relative is, rather naturally, made his wife. That she does not appear sooner is probably due to the fact that she did not appear in the traditions, and that up to that point no *rôle* was required of her, and no need felt for her creation.

Passing now from the four classes of irrelevancies, we may include under the general discussion one which does not fall under any of the four heads, even at the risk of being called irrelevant and addicted to interpolating. It is concerned with the nicker hunt in which Beowulf indulges on his way to the haunt of Grendel's mother. This Müllenhoff strikes out on the ground that it hinders the story and is purposeless, while both sense and alliteration are preserved if we omit lines $1433^{b}$–$1442^{a}$ inclusive. To make the mere more terrible by the presence of monsters was a not infelicitous idea. When Beowulf saw these monsters, it was not unreasonable that he should slay one, for sport or practice. The poet shows elsewhere that he appreciates the force of well chosen details, while the irrelevance is no greater than that of the other passages which we have noticed.

In conclusion, we see that, to the Anglo-Saxon poet, rhetorical connections, while often supplied, were no more necessary than syntactic ones. As he massed sentences, and even parts of the same sentence paratactically, so he put into his narratives whole sections which to us appear irrelevant, but which to his audience were clear enough in import. The arguments of Müllenhoff are not here noted in detail on account of their intricacy and the extent to which questions of revelancy are mingled with other

considerations. But we may, I believe, from the foregoing argument, feel confident in disregarding all those opinions of Müllenhoff or of the other ballad theorists that begin with "This is not pertinent," "This does not forward the narrative," or words of like import.

# LIFE.

The author is a native of Petersburg, Virginia (b. Jan. 1, 1879), a graduate of the Petersburg High School (1896), and of Johns Hopkins University (A. B., 1900). His undergraduate studies were principally in mathematics and natural science. A year and a half, after graduation, were spent in the study of physics; the following three years and a half, in the study of English philology under Professor Bright.

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